

THE ANSWER
Of the
STATES GENERALL
Of the
UNITED PROVINCES
Of the Low Countreys,
To
The DECLARATION of WARR
Of the
KING of GREAT BRITTAINE.

Published by Their Lordships order.



Hague Anno 1674.

W. J. H. T.

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BOOK

BY

W. J. H. T.

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A N S W E R
OF THE
STATES GENERALL
Of the United Provinces
To the
DECLARATION
Of the KING of GREAT BRITTAINE.



THe States Generall
of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, To all to whom these shall come Greeting. The hopes we had hitherto that Our continuall seeking of Peace would in time prove more successfull; And that the reiterated instances of the *Prince of Orange* should at last carrye it above the Arts which have been used against us, have kept us from publishing sooner an Answer to the *Declaration* of Warr of his Majesty of *Great Britain*; Being unwilling to encrease the feud, or to let the whole World see at what rate so great a King hath been abused, by the publishing in his Name of a *Manifest* wherein Truth is what hath been least aimed at, and which is all full of things that deserve so little to bear in the front so Illustrious a name.

But since all our Endeavours, as well as those of the *Prince of Orange*, have prov'd fruitless, and that our most earnest suites are not only rejected with scorne, but are also look'd upon as Injuries, as it appears by the exceptions that have been taken at the respectfull Letter we had written to his said Majesty, the care we are bound to have of our honour, and what we owe to our

Subjects, doth not give us leave to defer longer the laying of our Innocence open, and to make known to all *Europe* the Justice of our Armes, which we'll be alwayes ready to lay down as soon as the violence of our Enemyes shall cease, as we did not take them up but out of an unavoidable necessity.

Howbeit before we go further, we think it necessary to desire his Majesty of *Great Britain* to be persuaded, that our intention is not to offend his Royall Person, for which we have ever had, and will still have, all imaginable Respect, although the strength of truth doth constrain us to disown most of what his Ministers have persuaded him to averre,

We do also desire all those of the *English* Nation, into whose hands these may come, to read them with an impartiall mind, and to seek only the truth in them, without considering it comes from Enemyes, since we bear that title with much regret, and that we desire nothing more earnestly than to see our selves united again with a Nation, to which we are linked by the sacred Bond of the same Religion; besides a joint interest in severall other respects.

English Declaration.

WE have been always so zealous for the Quiet of Christendom, and so careful not to invade any other Kingdom or State, that We hope the World will do Us the Justice to believe, that it is nothing but inevitable necessity forceth Us to the resolution of taking up Arms.

Immediately upon Our Restoration to Our Crowns, the first work We undertook, was the establishing of Peace, and the settling a good Correspondence between Us and Our Neighbours; and in par-

A N S W E R.

WE never intended to call in question the peaceable and generous intentions of the King of *Great Brittain*, and we are enough perswaded that all the misunderstanding that hath been between us since his Restoration, hath proceeded onely from the Counsell of ill affected Persons. But by reason that to what concerns the Person of his Majesty, (which we do not gainsay) they add severall groundless accusations relating to our selves, A short and faithfull account of what hath
particular

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ticular, Our care was, to conclude a strict League with the States General of the United Provinces, upon such equal Terms, as would certainly not have been broken, if any obligations could have kept them within the bounds of Friendship or Justice.

This League was maintained inviolable on Our part. But in the year 1664. we were stirred up by the Complaints of Our People, and the unanimous Vote of Both Our Houses of Parliament, finding it a vain attempt to endeavour the prosperity of Our Kingdoms by peaceable ways at home, whilst Our Subjects were still exposed to the Injuries and Oppressions of those States abroad.

That whole Summer was spent in Negotiations and endeavours on Our side, to bring them to reasonable Terms, which notwithstanding all We could do, proved at length ineffectual; for the more we pursued them with friendly Propositions, the more obstinately they kept off from agreeing with us.

Upon this ensued the War in the year 1665. and continued to the year 1667. in all which time Our Victories and their Losses were memorable enough, to put them in mind of being more faithful to their Leagues for the future. But instead of that, the Peace was no

paiss'd most considerable before the Treaty of Breda, will sufficiently demonstrate which of both Parties hath most endeavoured to preserve a fair Correspondence, and who have sought Peace with the greatest reality and zeale.

When his Majesty of Great Britain was miraculously called again by his Subjects to the government of his Kingdoms, he was pleased to make choice of one of our Towns to receive the Deputyes that were sent to him, and stayd with us till all things were ready for his transportation. During the said time we endeavoured to give him all possible demonstrations of our respect to his Person, and of the fervent desire, we had to purchase his friendship, and to preserve the same inviolable. And what we did in that respect prov'd so acceptable to his Majesty, and did so farr persuade him of the sincerity of our intentions, that he was pleased to acknowledge it much beyond what we expected, and assured us, with the most obliging expressions, that he was resolved and did earnestly desire to enter with our State into a stricter Alliance than any of his Predecessors had done; and that he did hope his Restoration would be of no less advantage to the Inhabitants

tants of our Provinces than to his own Subjects, and that they should all taste the fruits of it with an equall satisfaction: Add- *sooner made, but they returned to their usual custom of breaking Articles, and supplanting Our Trade.*

ing to this, that he should not without jealousy see us prefer the friendship or alliance of any other Prince before his. Severall generall propofals and projects of Treatyes were made even at that time; after wich we sent a solemne Embassy to put an end to what had been already proposed, and to offer on our part all that was both reasonable and feasible. But our Embassadors were no sooner arrived but they perceived a great alteration in the mind and inclinations of his said Majesty, and found that some ill affected persons had possels'd him against us, since he had left the Hague; So that in stead of concluding the Alliance which he had proposed to us Himself, he began to side with other Princes against us. And in particular though the warr we had with *Portugal* was most just and most warrantable, yet he openly threatened us to breake with us, if we did seeke any longer, by way of armes, a reparation of the wrongs we had received from that Crowne.

In the mean time our Embassadors did not intermit their instances, and press'd with all possible zeal for the concluding of a stricter Alliance with the Crown of *England*: But after severall objections and difficultyes raised by that Court, upon the Articles which our Embassadors had proposed, in conformity of the Project that had been made, whilst his Maj. was still at the Hague; The Comissionners with whom they treated offered them at last, after above a years delay, the Treaty which was concluded in the year 1654. with *Cromwel*; And this Treaty could not be confirmed neither, but with much difficultye and trouble, and with the addition of severall points, that made it more disadvantageous to us than the very Treaty of 1654.

At last, having overcome all those difficultyes, and given to the King of *Great Brittain* so clear proofs of the singular esteem we had of his friendship, we thought thereby to have laid the foundation of a firme and durable Peace, and did hope the English Ministers would have contributed on their part, as we did on ours, to
exting-

extinguish the least sparks of discord ; But the Treaty was no sooner concluded but they begun to renew and set on foot certain pretensions, that were regulated in general by the Treaty, but not perfectly ended : And whilest the Embassadour *Downing* made a great noise in the *Hague*, of a few groundleis demands of some private Merchants, they sent a Fleet to possess themselves of severall Places belonging to us upon the Coast of *Guiny*, and of all the *New Netherlands* ; And that in the middst of a settled Peace, without a previous declaration of Warr, and without any denyall on our part to give them satisfaction upon any complaint they had made ; And afterwards they seiz'd all our Merchant Ships that sail'd along their Coast.

These excesses were followed by a *Declaration* of War, during which we may truly say, we never refused to hearken to any ouerture of peace that was made to us either by Princes and States, or by any other unconcerned persons ; But to the contrary we let no opportunity slip of making overtures of peace our selves, upon the least glimpse of hopes it might be done with success ; Having in order to that kept our Embassadour in England, during the best part of the warr, and having still since his coming away offered from time to time to his Majesty of *Great Britain*, the very Alternative upon which peace was at last concluded (which was either to keep what had been conquered on either side, or to restore all reciprocally) without seeking to make any advantage of the conjunction of *France*, which had then declared in our behalfe.

All this doth sufficiently shew how zealous we have alwayes been for peace ; And even without any other prooffe, one may easily imagine we'l ever be desirous of what is the true foundation of the happiness of our Countrey, as it is the support of our Trade.

All those that are in any measure acquainted with the state of our affaires, cann't but know that a warr by Sea, such as this we are engaged in now, is of all rocks that which at all times we'l avoid with the greatest care ; and that nothing but an inevitable necessity can bring us to the taking up of armes ; In case they will but graunt us never so little prudence and wisdom, although they would not owne wee keep our Treatyes (as we may truly say we have ever done) out of a principle of conscience and honour.

And

And therefore the proofs, with England doth instance in, of our averfeneffe to Peace, and of the perpetuall infraction of our Treatyes, muft needs carry a strong demonstration with them, to make good a Paradoxe that is fo much againft all fenfe and reason. Let us then examine in order thofe pretended *Infractions*, and fee how farr the Compilers of the *Manifest* doe make it appeare we have violated the peace of *Breda*.

FOr instance, *The States were particularly engaged in an Article of the Treaty at Breda, to fend Commissioners to Us at London, about the Regulation of our Trade in the East-Indies; But they were fo far from doing it upon that obligation, that when We sent over Our Ambassadour to put them in mind of it, he could not in three years time get from them any satisfaction in the material Points, nor a forbearance of the Wrongs which Our Subjects received in those parts.*

THe first infraction they complain of, and which in all likelihood ought to be very considerable since it leads the vann, hath four severall branches, 1. That we were bound by the aforesaid Treaty of *Breda* to fend Commissioners to London to regulate the *East-India* trade; which we have not done. 2. That this forc'd the King of *Great Britain* to fend us an Embassadour to put us in mind of what we had promised. 3. That the said Embassadour could not in three years time get from us any satisfaction

in the materiall points, nor 4. a forbearance of the wrongs which the Subjects of his said Majesty received in those parts.

Whereupon we can't but take notice that this, in all probability, is the first *Manifest* in the world that ever began with an Article, whereof every part is a meer supposition, and wherein, of all the matter of Fact that is alledged, there is not the least point agreeable to truth; For 1. let the whole Treaty of *Breda* be read and examined with care, no clause will be found whereby either in expresse or equivalent termes, we were bound to fend Commissioners to London; much lesse to fend any thither for the Regulation of the *East-India* Trade, which is not so much as mentioned in all the Treaty. Which makes us wonder at the surprizing boldnesse of those who dare

dare publish and averr in the sight of all Europe a thing which doth confute it self, and the falsehood whereof may be evinc'd by producing onely the very Treaty, they do quote and ground themselves upon. 2. How is it possible the King of *Great Britain* should send us an Ambassadour to put us in mind of that which never was, and which we could not have promised, since it had not been so much as spoken of? 3. What essentiall points could have been moved upon an imaginary clau'e and engagement; and there being nothing in that respect agreed upon by the Treaty of *Breda*, what satisfaction could they demand from us? 4. We may with sincerity and truth affirme, that hitherto we have not heard that our *East-India* Company, since the last Peace, hath done any wrong to, or committed any violence against the subjects of the King of *Great Britain*, and withall that his Embassadour never complain'd to us of it in the least, which undoubtedly he would have done if there had been any ground for it. But to demonstrate further the injustice of this Complaint and how ill grounded it is, we are assured from good hands, that the Committee of the English *East-India* Company having been desired by the Court to bring in their grievances, with a List of the injurys they had received in the *Indyes* since the Treaty of *Breda*; they answered in writing they had received none.

But what is little less surprising than all the rest, is that they lay to our charge to have violated the Treaty of *Breda* in relation of the *East-India* Trade, which is not mentioned in it, instead of returning us thanks for what we have done in that respect, without being bound to't by any Treaty, and meerey to let the King and all the *English* Nation see at what rate we were willing to purchase and to preserve their friendship. In few words the thing was thus.

The Peace which was treated of at *Breda* being much desired by the greatest part of *Europe*, and the time being too short to enter into a particular Negotiation for a Treaty of Marine between *England* and us; it was agreed to make use provisionally of that which we had concluded with *France* in the year 1662 beginning from the 26. Article to the 42. inclusively; it being resolved at the same time that, after the Peace concluded, Commissioners should

be chosen on both sides to agree upon a more particular regulation of Marine, for the reciprocall ease and convenience of the Merchants of both Nations; Which kind of Treatyes being onely to determine the *Countraband Goods*, and to prevent the interruption, which Warr commonly causeth in the Trade of Neutrall Nations, is altogether different from a regulation of Trade in the *East-Indyes*. Moreover the Winter following *England* having designed the preservation of the *Spanish Netherlands*, and having sent us Sir *William Temple* to enter into a Negotiation with us in order to it, we concluded in a little time three severall Treatyes with him. viz. the one a *Defensive League* between Us; The other for the defense of the *Low Countreys*, which afterwards was called the *Triple Alliance*; and the third an absolute Treaty of *Marine*, which was concluded on the 3^d of February 1668, and which left no room for the nomination of the Commissioners, that had been spoken of at *Breda*, since this Treaty had settled what they should have treated about, and that there was nothing to be added to a formall and absolute Regulation.

After the conclusion of this Treaty, some *English Merchants* did represent to the Court, that some Articles of it were doubtfull and impracticable; whereupon Sir *William Temple* delivered us a Memoriall, dated the 26 of Novemb. 1668, without mentioning therein the *East-India Trade*, and on the first of Decemb. following he gave our Commissioners two Articles of the Treaty of *Marine* which were complained of, and added to them four Articles more, to be as a rule between the two Companys in their *East-India Trade*, but which in truth were meer demands the *English Company* made for their private advantage. Whereupon we must not omit, that neither in the Memorials which the said Embassadour gave us, nor in all the Conferences he had with our Deputys, he never mentioned in the least the Treaty of *Breda*, and did never ground his Demands either upon the said Treaty or upon any other engagement or obligation on our part.

The whole was imparted to our Assembly on the very same day; Whese after a serious debate, although we might have refused to make any alteration in a Treaty which had been Concluded and Ratified in the usuall forms: That withall as to what related to the

Articles which the English *East-India* Company had procur'd to be delivered to us, we were not bound by any Treaty, or other engagement to enter with them into a regulation of the *East-India* Trade, much less to grant them severall points which were all for their private advantage, without any possibility for us to reap reciprocally the least benefit of the said regulation, which was also directly contrary to the Laws generally received in, and to the common use of the *Judges*: And lastly, that they complained of no wrong (as indeed they could not have done it with any Justice) done to them by our Company; And thus had so much the less cause to urge for a more particular regulation, whilst there was no necessity for it: Yet we thought fit to pass by all those Considerations. and to give to his Majesty of *Great Britain* and to all the *English* Nation this new proof of the singular esteem we had of their friendship, and of our desire to tie the knot of our Union yet faster, and to make it, if it were possible, indissoluble. Upon which ground we ordered our Commissioners to prepare an Answer to the Proposals of the aforesaid Embassadour, and to conferr with him in order to a speedy conclusion of that work. And all we can say in generall of the said Negotiation, the particulars whereof would be too tedious for those that are not versed in those matters, is that of four principall Points which were proposed by the said Embassadour, we granted and agreed upon three; and without rejecting the fourth, we onely desired a further clearing of some ambiguous Clauses, one of the Articles contained, which instead of settling a good correspondence between the two Company's, might have occasioned new debates, and have proved of dangerous consequence.

And the better to evidence how desirous we were to give all possible satisfaction to *England*, being sensible that the Letters which were written on both sides, did not sufficiently clear all doubts, we sent the *Sieur Van Beuningen* chiefly to put an end to the said Treaty between the two Companies. But whether the *English* Ministers, who were appointed to treat with him as Commissioners, were unwilling to explain themselves more particularly upon the ambiguous Clauses whereof a further clearing was demanded, least they should discover the unjust sense where-

ni they intended to take them afterwards; Or that they were afraid least the conclusion of that Treaty should have united more strictly both Nations, and so might have prov'd a new obstacle to the Warr they already design'd at that time, the said *Van Benningen* could obtain no positive answer upon what he desired, and came back without any progress made in his Negotiation; which could not be renewed since by reason of the misunderstanding which still encreased from that time, unto the breaking out of the Warr.

IN the West-Indies they went a little farther; For by an Article in the same Treaty, we were to restore Surinam into their hands; and by Articles upon the place confirmed by that Treaty, they were to give Liberty to all Our Subjects in that Colony, to Transport themselves and their Estates into any other of Our Plantations. In pursuance of this Agreement, We delivered up the Place, and yet they detained all Our Men in it; only Major Banister they sent away Prisoner, for but desiring to remove according to the Articles. Our Ambassadour complaining of this behaviour, after two years solicitation, obtained an Order for the performance of those Articles: But when We sent Commissioners, and two Ships to bring Our Men away, the Hollanders (according to their former practice in the business of Poleroon for above forty years together) sent private Orders con-

Surinam is a Colony upon the Coast of Guiana in America, which did belong to the English, and which some Ships we had sent thither, mastered during the late Warr on the 6. of March 1667. N. 8.

At the taking of it, our Officers granted to the Inhabitants a Capitulation, wherein amongst other things it was expressed that whenever any of the said Inhabitants should have a mind to remove out of the Colony, they should have leave to sell their Estates, and that in such case the Governor should take care for their transportation, together with their effects, at a reasonable rate.

After we had had the said Colony some Months in our possession, the English forces conquer'd it again. But as by the Treaty of Breda it was agreed to surrender reciprocally, and trans-

tradictory to those they had owned to Us in publick; and so the onely effect of Our Commissioners journey thither, was to bring away some few of the poorest of Our Subjects, and the Prayers and Crys of the most considerable and wealthiest of them, for relief out of that Captivity. After this, We made Our Complaints by Our Letter in August last to the States General, wherein We desired an Order to the Governours there, for the full observance of those Articles; yet to this time We could never receive one word of answer or satisfaction.

transferr to each other all right of Sovereignty to the Places which were possess'd on either side on the 22 May 1667, and that we were then yet in possession of Surinam, the said Colony did belong to us, and was to be restored us by the Treaty aforesaid; As it was at last (after long delays, and many reiterated instances from us) by virtue of an Order of the King of Great Britain dated the 8. of July. 1668. Being thus possess'd again of the said Place, one *Banister* who commanded there at the time our Officers brought the last order of the King of England for the restitution of it, declared to our Governour, that he intended to leave the Colony and enjoy the benefit of the aforesaid Capitulation; Which indeed he might lawfully do. But not being satisfied with demanding for himself what would not have been denyed him, he acted as if he had been still Governour of the Colony, and demanded in a very high manner the same permission in the name of severall Planters, as their *Deputy* and thereunto by them *authoris'd*. Whereupon the Governour aforesaid being informed that the said *Banister* did night and day caballe in the Colony, and used in a seditious manner both promises and threats to associate to him as many as he could, and engage them to go away with him; And looking upon such a carriage as directly contrary to the Sovereignty which had been transferr'd to us by the Treaty of *Breda*, by virtue whereof all the Inhabitants of the said Colony were become our Subjects, and consequently could not meet together, nor act as a body without our leave, much less to make themselves *Heads* of Parry's and to *Caballe* against our Interest, as the said *Banister* had done, our said Governour not thinking fit to punish him himself, sent him to us to in-

first upon him what punishment we should think convenient. Upon his arrivall Sir *William Temple* having spoken to us in his behalf, we granted him his liberty; And although the Inhabitants of *Surinam*, by their being become our Subjects, had lost all right of applying themselves to any other Authority but our own, and so, that no Forreign Prince could with any Justice make himself Judge of any former Capitulation; Our Subjects having no lawfull way to go out of our Territorys but by asking our leave, which also we may affirme, never to have denyed to any of the Inhabitants of that Colony that have applied themselves to us or to our Officers: Yet to let his Majesty of *Great Britain* see how ready we were to comply with him, and how farr we were from designing to use our new Subjects with any rigour, or to deny to them the least of the Priviledges which were promised them in our name, we consented to enter with his Majesty's Embassadour into a Negotiation upon the said matter, and to regulate with him the manner how the aforesaid Capitulation should be executed. Upon this severall difficultyes did arise; The Court of England endeavouring to straine the words of the Capitulation beyond their true sense, thereby to destroy as much as they could our said Colony, and asking every day some what new; whilest the intention of those that govern'd was not to compose differences in an amicable way, but rather to leave still, which much art, some seed of dissension, thereby to have an opportunity of making a noise, and by their false Complaintes to persuade the *English* Nation, we were strange Tyrants who kept their Countrey men in a Barbarous Captivity, without being moved by their Prayers and Cries: Whereas we may truly say that excepting *Banister*, we have heard of no Englishman at *Surinam* that hath desired to remove, without being thereunto induced either through the promises or Threats of some of the *Agents* from *England*.

The first difficulty was concerning the *Slaves*, which *Banister*, with his associates, did pretend they might carry off, and take along with them, by virtue of the Capitulation; although it be plaine both by the words of the Capitulation aforesaid, and by the testimony of our Officers that signed it, that no such Priviledge had been granted to them. But at last to oblige as much as

wee were able his Majesty of *Great Britain*, we yielded that point, and consented to what his said Majesty desired of us, how prejudiciall foever the thing was to us

But as the intention of the Court of *England* was onely, either to destroy our Colony, or to force us to deny them some what that might give them a pretence of complaining of us, though never so unjustly; they did not think to have done their work by carrying away from us a very great number of *Slaves*; and foreseeing we would not be long without buying new ones in stead of them, they thought upon a new way to destroy our Sugar works, which they were forced to leave behind, and desired afterwards they might carry away the Coppers and other necessary Utenzils for the making of Sugar; although in the common acceptation, through all the Colonies of *America*, and by the manner they were fasten'd and fixed, they were properly a part of the Sugarworks and therefore not transportable in their nature. This demand was so unreasonable and so forreigne to all that was specified in the Capitulation, that wee had but too much cause wholly to reject it. But still to demonstrate what value we did set upon the friendship of the King of *Great Britain*, and how farr we were willing to condescend even to all his desires, we did likewise give way to it.

Besides this, they desired they might send *English Ships* for the transportation of such as should be minded to leave the Colony, in hopes that this sending might engage those to go off, that had not designed it; not to reject the invitation of so Great a King by suffering the Ships, he sent them at his owne charge, to returne empty. These little Arts were not unknown to us. And although this demand was directly contrary to the Lawes and to the practice of all Colonies in *America*, where no Prince or State do suffer any Ships but their owne to come to any Plantation they do respectively possess; and that withall it was expressly agreed by the Capitulation, that our Governour should furnish with Ships (at a moderate rate) such inhabitants as would remove out of the said Colony: yet we once more pass'd by all those considerations, and granted it as we had done all the rest.

But by reason they feared still, the sending of the Ships might
not

not have the success they expected, unless they did send at the same time some trusty Agents, to give the same a greater Reputation, and to endeavour underhand to persuade the English inhabitants to go away with them; they press'd that they might name Commissioners to carry the Orders we sent to our Gouvernour (in conformity to what we had granted to his Majesty of Great Britain) and to be present at the executing of them. This we granted them also, and desired onely they would make choice of such persons as were unconcerned, and well meaning, to the end all things might be fairly ended, and with mutuall satisfaction. But how rationall and how just soever this our request was; the *English* Court insisted upon the often mentioned *Banister* to be the chief person of this Embassy: And being resolved on our part to give the highest proofs of our condescension, we oppos'd it no longer; although we had so much cause to suspect him.

A finall end was put to this Negotiation by our Ministers in England; And the last orders we sent to our Governour were agreed upon between the late Secretary *Trevor* and them, much against the expectation of the other English Ministers, who did not think we could have been brought to part with so much of our right, nor grant so many things we were not bound to and which were so prejudiciall to us. But as the secret Reasons and Motives which kept the said Ministers from perfecting the private treaty between the the *East-India* Companys; which was so far advanced, made them feare likewise least the business of *Surinam* should be amicably ended, neither of them agreeing with the measures they had lately taken at *Dover*, where the Court had gone to receive the *Dutchesse* of *Orleans*, they were not in the least pleased with what the said Secretary *Trevor* had done, and began to think of means to stop the execution of it; without remembring then the *Prayers* and the *Crys* of those poor subjects who (say they in their *Manifest*) long for relief out of their Captivity.

In order to that, not daring to fall openly upon the said Secretary, nor to impeach him themselves; they referr'd the agreement he had made to the Scrutiny of the Council of Plantations, to see whether they could not find somewhat else to demand, beyond what he had obtained from us; And in truth their Policy was so successful-

successfull that if *Banister* himself, as partial as he was, had not declared to the said Councell that he was satisfied with what we had granted, and had not express'd with some heat his impatience of going away, our Orders would not have been accepted of, and they would have made new demands to us before they had dispatch'd the said *Banister*.

Yet to perplex the thing with new difficultyes, they gave *Banister* as ample a Commission, as if the Colony of *Surinam* had not belonged to us with right of Sovereignty, with severall clauses which shewed plainly that their intention and design was to force a denyall from us; Having even (by an unheard of proceeding) named, at the recommendation and choice of *Banister*, five of our Subjects in *Surinam*, to be Commissioners from and by order of the King of *Great Britain*. Our Ministers in *England* having had notice of it, were infinitely surpris'd, and express'd highly their resentment: Whereupon the abovenamed Secretary *Trevor*, who, as it hath appeared since, had no share in their Counsells, being sensible that the overthrowing of all that had been done, was what the other Ministers did most desire, made severall instances to our said Ministers to passe by the just Considerations they might have, and even to grant to *Banister* a Letter of recommendation, wherein they should perswade our Governor to execute his Orders *bona fide*, without taking exception at such circumstances as might be irregular. Which at last they granted him by a kind of implicite faith, and out the strong persuation they had of his integrity. Which is very farr from sending private Orders contradictory to those we had owned in publick, as is here laid to our charge against all truth, and with as little ground as what they add concerning *Polemon*.

After all those delays, wherof we were not the cause, the *English Ships* at last went away, and arrived at *Surinam* on the 19. of January 1671, where the Commissioners were received with all imaginable civility. And all we can say in few words; concerning what pass'd between them and our Governour, is that on his part there was nothing forgotten that might oblige the *English Nation*, he having gone much beyond what might have been expected of him, and what the Orders that were agreed upon with *England* required. But as to the Commissioners their whole

carriage, was a perpetuall mixture of unreasonable passion, groundless complaints and unjust demands, as if they had had no other design than to breed a misunderstanding between the two Nations: They having withall endeavoured by all possible means to destroy our Colony, against the allegiance of those amongst them that were our Subjects; Against the promises which *Banister* had in particular made to our Ministers in *England*; And lastly, against the engagement of the King of *England* himself, and his *Royall* word which he had often given to us of the contrary. But by reason the proof of all this would take too much time, we have ordered the publishing of the Journall of our Governour with his Answer to the Protest, the aforesaid Commissioners left with him when they went away; to let the whole World in generall, and in particular the *English* Nation, see the notorious falshood of what is laid to our charge, and the uprightness of the carriage of our Officers, as well as the sincerity of our Intentions.

BUt it is no wonder that they venture at these Outrages upon Our Subjects in remote parts, when they dare be so bold with Our Royal Person, and the Honour of this Nation so near Us, as in their own Country, there being scarce a Town within their Territories, that is not filled with abusive Pictures, and false Historical Medals & Pillars: some of which have been exposed to the publick view by command of the States themselves, and in the very time when we were joyned with them in united Councils for the support of the Triple League, and the Peace of Christendom. This alone were cause sufficient for Our displeasure, & the resentment of all Our Subjects.

FFrom the pretended Outrages committed against the King of *Great Brittain* his Subjects, in remote parts; they come now to our affronting here (as they groundlessly affirme) his Royall Person, and the *English* Nation; Which alone had been cause sufficient for his said Majesty's displeasure, and the resentment of all his Subjects. which in other words is as much as if the *English* Ministers had said, that to punish the ambition of a Burguemaister of a private Town, who had caused himself to be drawn somewhat too vainely, Europe was at least to be set in a flame, and that so

so horrid a sin could not be wash'd away but by a deluge of Christian blood.

But to answer this accusation more exactly, we cannot sufficiently wonder at the carriage of the Court of *England*, who think to Justifye to the full a Warr, wherein so much innocent blood is shed, and which causeth so generall a desolation, by telling little tales that have no ground in truth, and which are so much beneath the gravity of a *Manifest*; And by their talking of abusive Pictures, and false Medalls, and Pillars, wherewith they say all our Towns are filled. For first, as to their false Pillars (which by the way is an expression somewhat singular) if they mean by it that we have erected Pillars to the dishonour of the King of *Great Britain*, or the *English* Nation, it will never be found we had so much as the thoughts of doing any thing like it. And in that sense onely those Pillars may with truth be called *false*.

And as to the Medalls (which they also do call false) we never knew but of a true one, wherein under the known and usuall *Emblems*, with both Poets and Painters, on the one side *Warr* was represented, and on the other *Plenty*, and *Peace*, that produceth it, having under her feet *Discord* in the shape of a *Fury* that was vanquished, and should no longer desolate *States* that were become friends.

And this Medall, though it was not done by our Order, being look'd upon as very inoffensive, one of our Provinces gave the engraver leave to sell it publicquely, as it is usuall to permit the Printing, and the sale of Books, which are not thought dangerous, or, out of a particular kindness, to grant a speciall Priviledge to some private Bookseller, and thus to preferr him before his Neighbours. Not to insist now upon the Right we had, as well as any other Sovereigns, to make use of either Medalls, or any other usuall means, to preserve the memory of any Action, or Event, we might have thought considerable: And whereof especially there are so many Instances in *England*.

But though we did not think the said Medall could have given the least offense, yet there were those who did maliciously make use of it, to exasperate the King of *Great Britain*; And howbeit there was nothing more false, nor more groundless than

what was suggested by these weak informers; Yet to take off all pretence, and to demonstrate, even in the least circumstances, the sincerity of our intentions, the Priviledge granted to the engraver was called in, all the Medalls that could be found were suppress'd, and the stamp was ordered to be broken, to prevent the coining of any more of them in private.

As to the abusive Pictures whereof they pretend all our Towns are full, the great noise they make hath no other ground but a Picture, which the *Schepes* (or Sheriffs) of *Dort* caused to be made of the *Sieur Cornelis de Witt*, one of their Burguemasters, and which, by a civility somewhat excessive, they ordered to be hung in the Chamber where the Councill of their Town used to meet. In this Picture he was drawn with a Staff of Command, because in the preceding Warr he had been upon the Fleet as our Deputy; and the Painter had added to it, on the one hand a River with severall Ships, whereof some were on fire; and on the other a horne of *Plenty*, out of which flowed all sorts of goods and Commodities; to signify that Warr had made room for Peace, and that Trading and Commerce had succeeded to Battels and Fights. Whereupon it is observable, 1. That the State had no share in the erecting of the said Picture. 2. That it was not the whole Body of the Town of *Dort* neither, but the aforesaid *Schepes* onely that were his particular Friends. 3. That this Picture (of what nature soever it might have been) was in a private room where none but those of the Councill of the Town had right to come in; 4 and lastly, that there was nothing abusive in the whole Picture, and all that could be censured in it was the vanity of him, who had either sought or accepted of an honour, which a more prudent man would have refused.

Excepting this onely Picture, we may truly say we never heard of any other that was excepted against, or complained of; and in case any abusive ones had been to be found, the King of *Englands* Ministers that have Resided here which us, would undoubtedly have spoken of it, and desired that the Authors or publishers of them might have been punished. Which is a cleer prooffe there was never any such thing publicly known. And in case any have been sold or dispersed secretly (wich yet we do not believe)

how

how can we be answerable for, or be supposed to have a hand in what never so much as came to our knowledge?

Would his Majesty of *Great Britain* on paine of making warr upon us, expect more from us within our Dominions, than he can do Himself within his owne Kingdomes, where it is sufficiently known how many bitter Libells, against both his Person and his Governement, have been dispersed notwithstanding the strictest Searches? And it may be his owne Court hath nor' been freer from it than the rest of the Kingdome; And the liberty his subjects do take hath been so universall, that they have not spared even his most retired appartements. His *Ministers* have been used worse yet, since the Chancellour doth confesse in the speech, he made at the opening of the former Session of Parliament, that they were accused openly of *Treachery* and *Folly*, and were called, even in the Coffehouses, both *Fools* and *Villains*. These are his owne words.

After all this, with what Justice can they complaine of us, who in the very heat of all our Warres have been guilty of no excesses that came neare unto these, and who in this last have suppress'd of our owne accord, under very severe penalties, two Pamphlets that spoke with too little Respect of the Person of his Majesty of *Great Britain*; Although the Author seem'd to have been very affectionate to the welfare of our State.

BUt We are urged to it by considerations yet nearer to Us, then what onely relates to Our Self; the Safety of Our Trade, upon which the wealth and prosperity of our People depends, the preservation of them abroad from violence and oppression, and the Hollanders daring to affront us almost within Our very Ports, are the things which move Our just Indignation against them.

AS this Article is hardly to be understood, and is backd by no manner of prooffe, wee suppose they intended it for an Introduction to what followeth, and therefore we can confute it no better, than by answering in order to the matters of fact they do alledge.

THe Right of the Flagg is so ancient, that it was one of the first Prerogatives of Our Royal Predecessors, and ought to be the last from which this Kingdom should ever depart. It was never questioned, and it was expressly acknowledged in the Treaty at Breda; and yet this last Summer it was not only violated by their Commanders at Sea, and that violation afterwards justified at the Hague, but it was also represented by them in most Courts of Christendom as ridiculous for Us to demand. An ungrateful Insolence ! That they should contend with Us about the Dominion of these Seas, who even in the Reign of Our Royal Father, thought it an Obligation to Fish in them, by taking of Licenses, and for a Tribute ; and who owe their being now in a condition of making this Dispute, to the Protection of Our Ancestors, and the Valour and Bloud of their Subjects.

signs. Which plot of theirs, as we have since found, having too well answer'd their desires; And excepting this single point there being no thing in all their *Manifest*, wherein the *English* Nation may concern themselves, in the least; We think it necessary before we answer it more fully, to declare both unto the King, and to the said Nation, that as on our part, we should be sorry to deny them the least prerogative, that of right may belong to them, or so much as to enter into any debate concerning what they may claim as their due

THis is the Grand-Battery of the *English* Ministers: 'tis what they think we cannot withstand; and wick they do with the greatest confidence relye upon. Before they had this pretence they knew not how to overcome all the difficultyes, which still hindered their designe. They were resolved to make Warr upon us: They had promis'd it to France; And withall they flattered themselves, it would much advance their private designs at home: But they still wanted Arguments that were Popular enough, to incense the Nation against us. They had need of somewhat more than their Pictures and their Medalls. And in order to that, they contrived the sending of a Yacht to seek our Fleet, which lay at Anchor not far from our Coasts, to require striking from our Admiralls; in hopes that the novelty of the thing would occasion some accident that might further their designs.

due, when the thing doth not relate to us, or is not made use of against us; We do hope likewise they'l have so much equity as to heare us in our Just defence; and that the great noise the Contrivers of this Warr do make, shall not drown the strength and the solidity of our Answer.

For the clearing of this point, it is to be observed that till the year 1653. as there had never been any dispute about the *Flagg*, between the *English* Nation and Us, so it was never so much as proposed to mention it in any Treaty. Which is a cleare and a certain proof, that till then the Sea Commanders on both sides, were sufficiently acquainted which what was to be done in those cases; and that nothing had been demanded in that respect by the *English*, but what we had been still ready to grant.

It is likewise very observable, that *England* had never no thoughts of securing this right of the *Flagg* by a small Treaty, till they began to suspect, some difficulty might be made of paying to them, as a Commonwealth, the same honour that had been paid to their Kings. Which induced them to have an Article about it in the Treaty of Peace, which was concluded between us in the year 1654.

The third thing which is to be observed, is that whereas the Court of *England*, instead of entering with us into the strict Alliance which his Majesty himselfe had proposed to us, whilest he was here, did onely renew the Treaty we had made with *Cromwell*, with some addition as we have said before, the Article of the *Flagg* being part of the same was concluded with the rest, Ann. 1662 without any conference upon the contents of the said Article, or the least explanation of it's true sense, further than what the words did beare. And afterwards, in the Treaty of *Breda*, the 19. Article, which is so much spoken of, was transcribed out of the Treaty of 1662. as that of the Treaty of 1663. had been taken out of the Treaty of 1654. So that to understand rightly the true sense of the said Article, we must go back to the Originall, and examine what hath pass'd in *London* in the Conferences and debates between the English Commissioners (wherof *Cromwell* himself was one) and our Extraordinary Deputyes, in relation to the Article aforesaid.

And it doth appear by the Journall of our Deputyes, which we have

have ready to produce to Justify what we doe alledge (not doubting but that in case the *English* Commissioners have followed the same method, and have likewise registred what pass'd, the same particulars will be found therein) That on the 3^d of November 1653. the English Commissioners delivered to our said Deputys 27. Articles which they propos'd to be agreed upon, and to make up the Treaty that was to be concluded. And that in the 15. of those Articles, it was amongst other things expressly said, That all our Ships, as well men of Warr as others, whether single or in fleets, meeting with any of the Ships of Warr of *England*, should strike their *Flag* and lower their Topsaile.

Whereupon our Deputyes did declare, that they had order from us, to assure the Commonwealth, our intention was not to make any innovation, and that we were very ready to pay to the Commonwealth all the same respects as we had paid to *England* under the former Governement: And that therefore since they would have a particular Article about it, it was necessary, in order to that, to inquire of the oldest, and most experienced Sea-Officers on both sides, in what manner the thing had been constantly practiced, to settle it accordingly for the future: And the rather because it was never mentioned in any former Treaty.

The Conferences, both upon that point and severall others, did continue for severall dayes: But in all that time the *English* Commissioners could not be brought, to enter into the Examination which was proposed, nor to refer it (notwithstanding the reiterated instances of our Deputys) to the decision of Seamen, as well in respect of the Coasts and Places, where *Striking* had till then been used, as for the Number of Ships; Which certainly they would not have refused if they could have proved that any Fleet of ours had ever struck to a single Ship of *England*, as they had pretended at first. And on the 26 Decemb. V. S. following, they gave our Deputy's this Article, in stead of the former they could not agree upon:

That the Ships and Vessels of the United Provinces, as well men of Warr as others, meeting at Sea with any of the Ships of Warr of the State of England, shall strike their Flag and lower their Topsail,
and

and perform all the other respects due to this State untill they be passed by.

In this new Article, the English Commissioners not being able to instance in any Fleet that had struck to a single Ship, nor consequently to justifie their pretension, they left out the word of *Fleets* which was in the former Article, and left the thing undecided in this, *That the Ships and Vessels*, without saying more. And at last after severall Conferences upon the whole Article, it was agreed on both sides to make no Innovation, and to keep to the Practice, without determining the same more particularly. The said Article having accordingly been worded thus:

Quod Naves & Navigia dictarum Fæderatarum Provinciarum, tam bellica & ad hostium vim propulsandam instructa, quam alia, quæ alicui è Navibus bellicis hujus Rei-publicæ in Maribus Brittannicis obviam dederint, vexillum suum è mali vertice detrahent, & supremum velum demittent, eo modo quo ullis retro temporibus sub quocunque anteriori Regimine observatum fuit.

That the Ships and Vessels of the said United Provinces, as well men of Warr as others, meeting in the Brittish Seas with any of the Ships of Warr of this Commonwealth, shall strike their Flag, and lower their Top-sail, in the same manner as hath been heretofore done, under any former Governement.

This point having been thus ended, and the whole Treaty concluded and Ratified on both sides, We gave still our generall Instructions to our Admiralls and other Sea Commanders, in the very same words as before, not seeing any ground to make the least alteration in them, since the said Article left things in the same Condition and State as before; Adding onely to them the Treaty that had been concluded, to be a Rule to our said Officers. And being there had never been any clause in the said Instructions that

ordered the Commanders of our Fleets to strike their *Flag* to any of the *English* Ships of Warr they should meet with, we did not add it neither, it being plaine by all that hath been said now, that we were no ways bound to it, and that the *English* Commissioners had waved that point, and insisted upon it no longer, for no other cause but that they wanted proofs, to back their assertion.

In the mean time severall years pass'd without any dispute or difference upon that matter, between the Commonwealth of *England* and Us. His Majesty now Reigning was afterwards restored to his Crowns; and in the Treaty which was concluded with him in 1662, the same Article was inserted with the rest, but without any more particular explanation, either by word of mouth or in writing. In 1667 it was transcribed *verbatim* out of the Treaty of 1662 to have it the 19 Article of that of *Breda*; And in all these Revolutions there had never been yet any difference upon the executing of it, till the Month of August 1671, at which time the Court of *England* was pleased to send a Yacht into our Fleet, that lay at Anchor (as we have said before) not farr from our Coast, which sailing by one of our Admiralls, shot twice sharp upon him, because he did not strike his Flag and lower his Top-sail. Whereupon the said Admirall, who had no other order concerning the Flag but to observe the 19 Article of the Treaty of *Breda*, considering that the said Article did not mention whole Fleets, but spoke onely of Ships in generall, and that for the abovementioned Reasons, besides severall other Circumstances our Fleet lay then under, to which the Article could not be applyed: And being desirous withall to pay to His Majesty of *Great Britain* all the respect he possibly could, he went himself on board the Yacht (which was a thing almost without precedent for an Admirall, in actuall command) and told the Capitaine with all imaginable civility, that without a particular order he could not take upon him a thing of that importance, and that in case his Majesty of *Great Britain* did think it was his due, the difference was to be decided with us who were the Masters of him the said Admirall.

This is the grand crime of our Admirall; 't is what we are accused of ourselves with so much heat and passion; And this is the unpardonable Affront we are guilty of, towards the King and all
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the *English Nation*. As for what they add of our carriage upon this accident, we'll have a fitter opportunity to speak of it in another place. And as to the Dominion of the Seas, and a pretended Tribute for Fishing (which no man can tell how they come to mention in this place) we'll onely answer in few words, that both the one and the other is altogether forreign to this Warr; And that as in all that relateth to the Ceremony of the Flagg, we never intended to make the least innovation, and would have no other Judges, to regulate and decide it, than the oldest and most experienc'd Sea-Commanders, so we desire no new Priviledge for the liberty of Fishing, and claim nothing in that respect but to keep close to what hath been hitherto the constant practice, and to preserve what hath been regulated by solemn Treatyes, near two hundred years since, and which the Inhabitants of our Provinces, under all changes and formes of Governement, have constantly enjoyed without interruption.

Notwithstanding all these provocations, We patiently expected Satisfaction, not being willing to expose the Peace of Christendom for Our particular resentments, whilest they ceased not on their parts to endeavour to provoke the most Christian King against Us; of which they thought themselves so secure, that for above these Twelve months their Ministers here have threatned Us with it.

Majestys Person, which they lay to our charge, We have already made it appeare that in all these respects the *English Court* had much cause to thank us for our condescension, farr from complaining of us: And this second Embassadour they speake of, did never make the least mention of it; Which yet, in case their Complaints had been well grounded, was altogether necessary, to the end our denyall might have Justified their Warr.

IT is hard to apprehend what provocations are meant here, for which satisfaction had been so patiently expected by the King of Great Britain, whilest he was unwilling to expose the Peace of Christendom for His particular resentments, and which made him send us another Embassadour, as it is said a little after. For if they meane by it the businesses of the *East-Indies* and of *Surinam*, with our pretended abusing His

But on the contrary it is plaine, it was not without *Mystery* they called back *Sir William Temple*, who had alwayes been zealous to prevent, or to stop the progress of all that might breed the least misunderstanding between both Nations, and who had still endeavoured, by all possible meanes, to preserve an Alliance (whereof he had been an happy Instrument) entire; to send us a great while after an Embassadour, who neither in the Memorials, he delivered us, nor in his private discourses, did not so much as mention what they have since made so much noise about. And if this *patient expectation* relateth onely to the business of the Flagg, we'l demonstrate in the two following Articles the injustice of this complaint.

In the meane time what they do add, concerning our endeavours to provoke the French King against his Majesty of *Great Britain*, is as farr from truth as all the rest of their accusations: And we do not doubt but that all the *English* Nation will give more credit to the sincere Protestation we do make here, in the presence of God and men, that we had not so much as the thoughts of what they lay to our charge, than to what some *French* Emisarryes do surmise, as much against all likelihood as against truth.

We were then so farr from having any secret understanding with *France*, that we have drawn their Armes upon us meerely by our being entered into too strict an Alliance with the King of *Great Britain*; And 't is too well known to all Europe whether the *English* Court, or we, have best kept the said Alliance, and which of us hath least sought the friendship of the *French* King to each others prejudice. Since the Embassadour *Montagu* was sent into *France* (wich was in the beginning of the year 1669.) the least clear sighted could easily perceive who have been the bosom friends: And after reiterated Embassyes of their Grand *Ministers*, as well as what had pass'd at *Dover*, together with the great leavies they had given leave to the *French* to make against us in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, we must needs have been of a very easy belief to have fancyed, we had a greater share in the friendship of the *French*, than the Court of *England* had; We, who at the same time had set out a considerable Fleet, to protect the *Spanish Netherlands*, in case of a second invasion, and who were very earnest with *England* to
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set out another for the same end, that we might act jointly and keep up the reputation of the Alliance, we were entered into : The French King being then advanced as far as Dunkerke.

But to demonstrate further the injustice of this accusation, our Embassadour in *England* having sent us word, that notwithstanding all the convincing proofs we had given of the contrary, yet there was some ill affected persons who endeavoured to persuade both the King and all the Nation, we treated underhand with *France*, contrary to our engagements. We immediately ordered him, to declare in our name to His Majesty of *Great Brittain*, that to evidence the falshood of those reports wick were spread abroad to our disadvantage, and to give his said Majesty essentiall and undenyable proofs of the sincerity of our intentions, we were ready to enter into such an Alliance with him as he should think fit, how strict soever the same might be, and to go far beyond any thing we had already done, for securing the Peace of *Europe*.

It is true, the reiterated proffers of our Embassadour were rejected with scorn : But we could hardly have imagined, that after this proceeding of ours, the Court of *England* could since have laid to our charge threats, which they knew full well to be imaginary, and which we could not be guilty of at a time wherein we sought to unite us more strictly ; And whilest we were too well acquainted with their secret *Intrigues* with the French, to expect the assistance of these against *England*.

AT length, bearing nothing from them, We sent another Ambassador to them, who after several pressing Memorials in Our Name, could receive no Answer, till after he had declared his Revocation. Then they offered a Paper to this effect, That in this Conjunction they would condescend to Strike to Us, if We would assist them against the French ; but upon

THeir manner of speaking here of the sending of their second Embassadour, doth seem to imply that either this complained, in the usuall form, of all they are pleased to accuse us of in their Manifest, or that Sir William Temple had already made his Complaints upon the business of the Flagg, without receiving any answer to't. As to the first, we

condition, that it should never be taken for a President hereafter to their prejudice. .

have already made it appear how farr the same is from being true: And as to Sir William Temple, it would have been hard for him to complain to us of what did not happen, but very near a year after he had left us. But to insist no longer upon the contradictions, which will be found in more than one place in this *Manifest*, and to give an answer to what they do alledge; It is true we did not send first into *England* upon the dispute of the Flag; And as we were not satisfied our Admirall had violated the 19 Article of the Treaty of *Breda*, we thought it fit to stay for the Complaint of the King of *Great Britain*, in case he did conceive we had not paid him what respect was due to him. The rather because the Propofall which the *Sieur Boreel*, our Embassadour, had made to his Majesty and to his Ministers, (very little after the accident of the Flag) to enter into Conference with them, upon the same, was rejected under pretence that an Embassadour should be sent to us. And when at last *S^t George Downing* came from his said Majesty, we declared, in answer to the Memoriall he deliverd us the 11th of January, that all our Admiralls and other Sea-Commanders had a strict Order from us, to observe punctually and regulate themselves by the 19. Article of the Treaty concluded at *Breda*, with His Majesty of *Great Britain*; and that our intention was to have it as a standing rule to us, in all it's circumstances: But that, since the matter in question related to the execution of an Article, upon which the Complaints made were grounded, it was to be observed, 1. that it did not appear to us, that generall Fleets were comprehended in it, and that nothing else was mentioned therein but *Ships* and *Vessels* indefinitely. And 2. that it was to be done *eo modo quo ullis retro temporibus unquam observatum fuit*, in the same manner it had ever been practiced.

Upon the first point, to shew the true sence of the said Article, we used part of the Arguments abovementioned. And as to the second, we offered again to the said Embassadour to enter with him, if the King his Master pleased, into a strict inquiry of the usuall practice concerning the Flag; and that in case it were found that our Fleets had ever struck to a single *English Ship*, we should

should acknowledge the thing to be due, and would dispute it no further; Our intention being not to recede from what had been formerly practiced.

Thus far our Answer related to the matter in debate, and evidenced with how little reason we were accused of having violated the Treaty of *Breda*. But we went further than this: And though we knew very well that in the examination which we did propose, it would never be found that our generall Fleets had struck to a single Ship; yet insisting no further upon the said inquiry (which could not but have prov'd much to our advantage) we declared that upon the confidence, we had in the true and solid friendship of the King of *Great Brittain*, and in hopes he would perform what he was bound to, by the 5. Article of the *Triple Alliance*, in case *France* made Warr upon us, we readily consented that our whole *Fleets*, as well as our particular *Ships*, should strike to any single Man of Warr, that carried the Flagg of his Majesty of *Great Brittain*; Thereby to give his said Majesty the highest proof of the respect and honour, we would at all times endeavour to pay to so great a Monarque. Proffering withall to his Majesty, to agree with him upon a certain Regulation concerning the same, so prevent all future disputes and Controversies.

This in short, is the substance of the Answer we gave to the Memoriall of Sir *George Downing*; Which the Compilers of the *Manifest* are pleased to turn into *Ridicule*, whilst they knew they were not able to object any thing rationally against it; As though to justifie their Warr they had nothing to do but to introduce us speaking impertinently, and to make us say what we never so much as thought on.

But these Gentlemen do not tell us, that least the thing should be thoroughly examined, and to avoid serious debates, which undoubtedly would have taken off the pretence they did seek, and which they had need of to keep their word to the *French*, the said Embassadour *Downing* was ordered to receive nothing from us after a certain number of dayes that were prescribed to him, and which they knew to be too short a time to have an Answer of so high an importance ready, under such a forme of Governement as Ours, where the remoteness of the Members that have a de-

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cifive voice doth much retard the Refolutions that are taken. So that when our Answer was brought to him, he would not receive it under pretence it came too late, and whileft they extoll fo much in this *Manifest* their great Patience, we could not fo much as be heard, meerely becaufe we had not fpoken fome few houres fooner: And therefore upon the denyall of the Embaffadour, we were forced to fend our faid Answer direcdly to the King his Mafter; though with little better fuccels.

Since the return of Our faid Ambaffador, They have sent an Extraordinary One to Us, who in a most extraordinary manner has given Us to understand, That he can offer us no Satisfaction till he hath sent back to his Masters.

They still make themselves merry, and do fancy a cold allusion to the Character of our Embassadour, will justifie their carriage, and their invincible obstinacy in refusing to enter with him into regular Conferences upon what he was to offer them

from us: As will best appear by what followeth.

Our Answer to the Memoriall of Sir *George Downing* (which he refused to receive) having been delivered to his Majesty of *Great Brittain*, by our Embassador, he received a Reply from the Court of *England*, wherein they complained, our said Answer was nothing less than satisfactory, & was full of dark and ambiguous words, with some other objections of the like nature. Whereupon we thought fit to send an Extraordinary Embassadour into *England*, with full power to clear what might be doubtfull or dark, and to add (in order to it) what would be necessary to expresse our true intention and meaning, which was to go much beyond what had till then been agreed upon, in relation to the Flagge. In the first Conference which the said Extraordinary Embassadour together with our Legier, had with the English *Ministers*, they acquainted them with the Orders they had received from Us, and having assured them they were ready to clear in our name what might be *dark*, or *ambiguous* in our Answer, (without being able to bring the said Ministers to instance in what they found amiss therein) they offered them a Project of an Article or Declaration more ample in writing, upon the business of the Flagge, wherein it was expressly said that our Fleets in a body, as well as our
single

single Ships, meeting with any of the Ships of War, that had the Flagg of His Majesty of *Great Brittain*, should strike their Flagg and lower their Topfail (Which one would think was the fullest and strongest explanatory clause, that could be added to the 19. Article of *Breda*) Without annexing the same or making it depend upon any condition or demand whatsoever from *England*. Whereupon our said Embassadours desired to know of the *English* Commissioners, whether such a Declaration would satisfie His Majesty, and if so, they were ready to sign it: But the *English* Commissioners answered, they expected an Answer to the King's abovementioned Memoriall (or Reply) dated the 11th February, and could receive no Papers that were not signed; And our Embassadours refusing then to sign it before they knew whether the same should be satisfactory, the Conference thus broke off without any further discourse. But afterwards our said Embassadours reflecting upon the strictness of the Orders they had from us, to omit nothing of what might demonstrate the sincerity of our Intentions, and the respect we did beare to the Person of his Majesty of *Great Brittain*, resolved to passe by all other Considerations, and having drawn up and signed a Memoriall (wherein the aforesaid Declaration was comprehended with a promise of clearing it yet further in case they should think it still ambiguous or dark) they demanded a new Conference to deliver it to the Commissioners: But these foreseeing that such a condescension in our Embassadours might be a great obstacle to their designs, & prevent the Breach, if it came to be publicly known, & they had free Conferences upon it; They had the skill to cause their Declaration of War to be read and approved in the Kings Councill, which was extraordinarily called for that end, and with great precipitation, an hour before the time they had appointed to our Embassadours, for the Conference which was granted them: So that when our said Embassadours came to the place of the Conference, they were told they came too late, and that the Warr had been just then resolved upon, and decreed in his Majestys Councill. Upon which ground the *English* Commissioners refused to receive the Paper our Embassadours had written, and which they still were willing to deliver though they were told the Warr was declared.

It is easy to imagine how great the surprisall of our Embassa-
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dours was, when they received this answer; and we are no lesse astonished to see the Court of *England* after all the endeavours of our Extraordinary Embassadour to prevent the Breach, to accuse him now so groundlesly to have declared to them, he could offer no satisfaction to his Majesty of *Great Britain*, till he had sent back to us.

W Herefore, despairing now of any good effect of a further Treaty, We are compelled to take up Arms in Defence of the Ancient Prerogative of Our Crowns, and the Glory and Safety of Our Kingdoms; And We put Our trust in God, that He will give Us His Assistance in this Our just Undertaking, since We had no way left to defend Our People from the Artifice of that Nation in Peace, but by the Valour of Our Subjects in Warr.

We have therefore thought fit to Declare, and do hereby Declare, That we will prosecute Warr both by Sea and Land against the States Generall of the United Provinces, and all their Subjects and Inhabitants Hereby enjoying Our most dear and most beloved Brother the Duke of York Our High Admiral, Our Lieutenants of Our several Counties, Governors of Our Forts and Garrisons, and all other Officers and Soldiers under them by Sea and Land, to oppose all the attempts of the States Generall of the United Provinces,

A Ll we have said hitherto in generall, and in particular the faithfull account of what pass'd in *London*, between our Embassadours and the *English* Ministers, doth sufficiently evidence with what Justice they accuse us, here, to have compelled the King of *Great Britain* to take up Arms, by taking from him (as they pretend) all hopes of receiving any satisfaction by a Treaty. After that, it is not to be wondered at if they do think themselves so secure of the Divine assistance in their just Undertakings. So Godly a Warr could not want a happy success.

Yet we must not forget that (as we have said it already) in the very moment they call God to witness of our obstinacy, and at the time this *Manifest* was read and approved in the Councill, they expected an hour after our Embassadours, from whom they knew before hand they should receive all the satisfaction they could reasonably expect: And even, that this Councill was called, with so

or their Subjects, and to do, and execute all Acts of hostility in the prosecution of this Warr against the said States Generall of the United Provinces; their Vassals, Subjects, and Inhabitants; Willing and Requiring all Our Subjects to take notice of the same, Whom We henceforth straightly forbid, on pain of Death, to hold any Correspondence or Communication with the said States General, or their Subjects, (those only excepted who are necessitated thereunto for the withdrawing their Persons and Estates out of the United Provinces.) And because there are remaining in our Kingdoms many Subjects of the States Generall of all the United provinces, We do Declare, and give Our Royal Word, that all such of the Dutch Nation, as shall demean themselves dutifully to wards Us, and not correspond with Our Enemies shall be safe in their Persons and Estates, and free from all molestation and trouble of any kind.

Dover) in the very additionall Articles which were agreed upon in the French Camp, & whereof the English Plenipotentiarys themselves sent a Copy to the Prince of Orange, they do owe they had already concluded a Treaty against us, on the 2^d of February 1672. that is, near two months before the breach, as well as before they knew how farr we might comply with them.

Lastly, to evidence that their Declaring Warr was nothing lesse than grounded upon the necessity they speak of, it is observable they

much precipitation, to no other end, but to make the endeavours of our Ministers fruitlesse, and to leave no further roome to Negotiation.

Besides, if the Warr, which the Court of England is entered into against us, be such as they could not avoid, and which they had not designed themselves, to what end did they (severall months before the Breach) send Ministers to the Court of Suede, and that of Brandenburg? Was it to persuade those Princes to stand faster to us; And do they think we are altogether strangers to what they Negotiated? Would they have us and the World believe, by an implicate faith, their secret understanding with France began with this Warr; and that they were not bent upon our destruction long before that time? All Europe is sufficiently acquainted with what hath been done in that respect. And without going back to lesse publick Engagements, and of an ancientser date (as might be that of

made Warr upon us, before they declared it; and by an unheard of proceeding had already fallen upon our Merchant Ships that came from the *Streights*, at the same time we had sent them an Extraordinary Embassadour to offer them satisfaction upon what they did chiefly complaine of, and to let his Majesty of *Great Britain* know, how farr we were desirous of preserving his friendship.

And further We do Declare, That if any of the Low-Contrey Subjects, either our of Affection to Us, or Our Government, or because of the Oppression they meet with at home, shall come into Our Kingdoms, they shall be by Us protected in their Persons and Estates.

through the removall of our Inhabitants, nor that they have hitherto preferr'd the Domination of our Neighbours before Ours.

A*nd whereas We are engaged by a Treaty to support the Peace made at Aix la Chappelle, We do finally Declare, That notwithstanding the prosecution of this War, We will maintain the true Intent and Scope of the said Treaty, and that in all the Alliances, which We have or shall make in the progress of this War, We have and will take care, to preserve the Ends thereof inviolable, unless provoked to the contrary.*

THe Conclusion of this *Manifest* is no lesse surprising than all the rest. And if the Compilers of it had had never so little care of their Reputation, they ought much rather to have stifled (if it had been possible) the memory of the *Triple Alliance*, & of the Treaty of *Aix*, than to have so untimely put us in mind, of the little value they have set upon their promises, and the solemn engagements they were entred into, both with the Crown of *Spaine* and with us. And indeed, it is hard to imagine they are in earnest, when they tell us they will maintaine, the true Intent & Scope of the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle* and

and preserve the Ends thereof inviolable, whilst they have entered into a League with *France* to invade our Provinces, and have kindled a Warr much more dangerous, than that which was composed at *Aix*.

But the better to judge of the sincerity of this declaration; and to the end it may appear how far the Court of *England* hath preserved the Ends of the said Treaty, we desire the Reader to reflect upon the following hints, which we dare not enlarge upon, for fear of being too tedious. This single head, to clear it fully, requiring a *Manifest* by it selfe.

The first thing to be observed, is that the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle* was onely the Complement and perfecting of the *Triple Alliance*, wherein what was executed at *Aix* had been already designed and agreed upon; And that consequently those two Treaties cannot be divided, and ought to be look'd upon as one single Treaty, though concluded in severall places, and at some months distance of one another. So that the Court of *England* cannot pretend to have kept the Treaty of *Aix*, unless at the same time they can make it appear they have not violated the *Triple Alliance*, and that they have on their part answer'd it's true end.

It is further to be observed; it was His Majesty of *Great Britain* who proposed the said *Alliance*, having sent us in order to it Sir *William Temple*, who did earnestly presse us to join with the King his Master, to stop the progress of the French Armes, and by reestablishing the quiet of Christendom to set bounds to a Power, which gave so much jealousy to all its Neighbours.

3. That being overcome by the powerfull Arguments of the aforesaid Sir *William Temple*, we consented to what he desired of us: But as we could not but foresee, that such an Alliance would exasperate *France*, and might be attended with evill consequences, we desired at the same time, for our greater security, to unite us more strictly with *England*, and concluded with them a *Defensive League*, which till then we could never obtain, since the King's Restoration: Not thinking that after that, there could be any danger in acting jointly with His said Majesty, and complying with his desires.

4. That upon the same grounds, when *Suede* was admitted
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into the same *Alliance*, which from thence was called *Triple*, it was stipulated in expresse words in the 2 and 3 Articles, That to establish this Alliance upon a surer foundation, there should be forever between the contracting Parties a firme and sincere friendship, and that to cultivate it, and preserve it really and sincerely, each of the said Confederates should heartily endeavour, to procure all good and advantage to the others, and to preserve them, as farr as they were able, from all damage and perill; For which end also all the Treatys and reciprocall engagements, that were respectively between them, should be preserved entire, and kept inviolable. And in the fifth Article it was added, that in case the aforesaid good intentions of the Confederates, should be ill resented by any other State or Prince, and that by reason of the same any injury were done to, or Warr made upon any of the Confederates, the other two should be bound to assist him, with all possible vigour both by Sea and Land, and not to call back their succours, before they had procured him a reparation, and untill the danger was over.

Now we aske the Compilers of the *Manifesto*, whether it was by their giving leave to the *French* to make so great Leavies in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* (whilest they knew they were intended against us) they began to promote our good and our advantage, as they were bound ? Whether their secret Intrigues with the *French*, and the engagements they had with the said Crown, be what they call to cultivate the sincere friendship they had promised us ? How farr their carriage in the Courts of *Suede* and *Brandenbourg* hath been agreeable to the obligation they lay under, to preserve us as farr as they were able from the danger that did threaten us ? And lastly, whether they do perswade themselves, they have honestly performed the *Defensive League* they had concluded with us, by their breaking with us, the very first, without any provocation from us ?

But it is not onely in relation to us, the Court of *England* did not observe the *Triple Alliance*: They have valued it as little both in other respects and upon other occasions. Thus, although by the 7. Article of the Treaty of *Aix*, all *Kings*, *Potentates* and *Princes* had a right to give their Garanty, for the performance of the said Treaty, that is, in other words, to come into the *Triple Alliance*, where-

wherein the same thing had already been covenanted ; And that pursuant to the said Treaty , the King of *Great Brittain* (whilest his Ministers had other thoughts) had solicited severall *German* Princes to come into the same *Alliance* : Yet when the Emperor desired , a while after , to be admitted in to it , the persuasions of the *French* were so powerfull , that it was denyed in *England* , after they had promis'd it at first ; And the said Court began to feare to see the Peace too well settled , farr from continuing in their first zeale , and keeping up the reputation of a league which owed it's being to them.

Lastly , seeing the chief end of the *Triple Alliance* , was to settle the Peace of Christendom , and that the jealousy , which the greatness of *France* raised in severall Princes , had been the occasion of their uniting themselves , and which in particular had moved the Court of *England* to make the first overtures of it ; The said Court could not overthrow more openly all what they had done before , nor violate the *Triple Alliance* more directly , than by setting , as they have done , all Christendom in a flame , and by countenancing with so much zeal , the Armes of a Prince whom they had , for some years , made it their glory to depresse.

And now upon all that ha's been said (wherein we hope it will appear to every impartiall eye , that we have not us'd the disingenuous licence of our Adversaries , in asserting whatsoever may be for their purpose , without the least colour of truth to support it ; But have strictly confin'd ourselves to matter of fact , justified by Authentick Originalls , and carrying undeniable self-demonstration along with it) We Appeal to all the World , whether , or no , there ha's been any thing done on our part , which may truly be said to be an Infraction of the late Treaty at Breda , and of the sacred *Triple League* , so religiously entred into , for the Common Preservation of the Peace , & safety of all Europe ; And although through the goodness
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of God, who ha's miraculouſly put a ſtop to the deſigns of our Enemies, we are at preſent in a Condition to defend ourſelves, (jointly with our Allyes to whom we are ſtrictly united) and have no cauſe to deſpair, but that our Armes will ſtill be attended with that ſucceſs, which the righteous God do's uſually give to ſo juſt a cauſe, yet being alwayes ready to apply ourſelves to the moſt hopefull wayes of procuring Peace with all our Neighbours; And having more particular Inclinations to do any thing which may be leading to a right underſtanding with the Kingdom of *England* (whole friendſhip we moſt earneſtly deſire, and ever ſhall eſteem as the greateſt wordly bleſſing) We do here in the ſimplicity of our hearts, and in the confidence of our own Integrity, ſubmit the ſincerity of this our deſenſe to the Judgement of the English Nation in generall, and more particularly of the High and Honorable Court of Parliament, as repreſenting the whole Body of the Nation, whom we are not onely willing to make the ſole Arbitrators of all the Unhappy differences betwixt the Court of *England* and us; but ſhould account it the moſt prosperous ſtep to an happy Accommodation, if they (who muſt be allow'd to be the beſt Judges of this Controverſy) would take the pains rightly to diſcriminate betwixt the true Intereſt of the Nation (which they repreſent) & the Artiſciſall pretences of ſome few Evill-minded-men, who (for ſome ſiniſter purpoſes of their own, very little agreeable to the duty they owe, both to God and their Countrey) have contriv'd this Warr, in order to endſequally deſtructive to *England*, aſto this ſtate.

FINIS.